

before the fall

Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Henry W. Berger in "American Labor Overseas" (*The Nation*, Jan. 16) has made a valuable contribution, deepening the work of Stanley Meisler and Sidney Lens in exposing the role played by the leadership of the AFL-CIO as accessories of the State Department against the interest of the workers of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, and of the workers in the United States itself. Unfortunately, Professor Berger has also done an injustice to the finest traditions of the American labor movement. He writes as if the current policy of the AFL-CIO leadership were a direct continuation of the AFL from its inception. "The main tenets of organized labor's present foreign policy," he writes, "were established in the early days of the AFL under the leadership of Samuel Gompers."

I do not know just what period Berger is referring to, but the AFL was established in 1881, so the years up to 1905 would constitute the "early days." Yet during this period, the AFL, under Gompers' leadership, was in the front ranks of those who combated the rise of American imperialism. Gompers was a vice president of the American Anti-Imperialist League, founded in the midst of the war against Spain to prevent the acquisition of overseas possessions, particularly the Philippines, and to demand full independence for Cuba. . . .

When U.S. military authorities in Havana broke the general strike of the Cuban workers for an eight-hour day, the AFL convention, Detroit, Dec., 1899, condemned the action, and the delegates applauded Gompers when he urged the federation to back their Cuban brothers to the hilt. . . . Gompers warned that unless American imperialism was defeated, the workers in the United States would suffer the consequences along with those in the countries dominated by our imperialists. . . .

By 1905 Gompers and other leaders of the AFL had shifted their position, although a strong minority still existed in the federation which continued to oppose American foreign policy. This shift . . . coincided with Gompers' (and other AFL leaders') close association with the National Civic Federation founded in 1900 for the purpose of promoting peace and harmony in the industrial world. . . . Associating with Mark Hanna and with representatives of the house of Morgan, Gompers and his associates lost interest in combating American imperialism. . . . Soon they were to become the leading spokesmen for a policy of imperialism. But the early anti-imperialist traditions of the AFL are significant and should not be forgotten.

Philip S. Foner

rank and file

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: In his article, Henry W. Berger refers to me as "associated with the AFL." Since the other names he lists with mine were, in fact, officials or employees of the AFL, his implication is clear. I was never an official or an employee of the AFL or the CIO; if I had been, I would be happy to affirm it. I have been a dues-paying member of the American Newspaper Guild, both before and after the merger of the AFL-CIO; that is all. . . .

John Herling

Burlington, Vt.

DEAR SIR: I regret that I left the impression that Mr. Herling was employed by the AFL which he was not, as I well know and as he has made clear. Mr. Herling was, however, the head of the Labor Relations Division of the Office of Inter-American Affairs and actively solicited the

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The Professor & the CIA

For twelve years Dr. Evron M. Kirkpatrick has been executive director of the American Political Science Association, a prestigious fraternity which has about 16,000 professors in its membership.

He has also been, for the last ten years, executive director of Operations and Policy Research, Inc., an organization established to help the United States Information Service, the government's propaganda arm, distribute more persuasive broadsides and magazines and books both in this country and abroad.

Dr. Kirkpatrick (formerly University of Minnesota, formerly OSS, formerly State Department) sees no conflict in his dual role. Indeed, to create and polish the government's propaganda Dr. Kirkpatrick has said he employs on a part-time basis more than 100 professors, many of them members of his campus organization, the APSA.

Where does the money come from? In the early years of its existence, Operations and Policy Research, Inc., was supported solely by USIA funds. It still gets nearly \$60,000 a year from USIA, but now also receives money from the Pentagon, the State Department and other government agencies. It will never lack for money ties, because one of Dr. Kirkpatrick's close friends is Vice President Humphrey; and Max M. Kampelman, vice president and attorney for Kirkpatrick's outfit, is one of Washington's leading Establishment liberals.

Even more significant, considering recent disclosures about the Central Intelligence Agency's fiddling with campus affairs, is the fact that OPR, Inc., has received large grants from the Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation, one of the foundations identified as a conduit for CIA funds to feed the National Student Association. The Rabb Foundation gave four times as much to Dr. Kirkpatrick's professors as it gave to the students.

Another foundation helping to pay for Dr. Kirkpatrick's work is the Pappas Charitable Trust of Boston. In the last two years, OPR, Inc., has received more than \$120,000 from Pappas. It may or may not mean anything, but Pappas also supports the International Development Foundation, Inc., which glows with the suspicion of being a CIA front since it was launched with a grant of \$187,685 from the CIA-connected Radio Free Europe and \$30,000 from the Beacon Fund, which has been identified by Congressional investigators as having put money into another CIA-conduit foundation, the Kaplan Fund. In 1964 alone, Pappas gave the International Development Foundation \$102,000.

Dr. Kirkpatrick says it is "very likely" that these two foundations transmit CIA funds, and acknowledges that in 1963, 1964 and 1965 OPR, Inc., received CIA money, "principally" for studies of Latin American elections. No strings, he says, were attached to these grants.

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